

serm. at once radical and truly conservative, progressive and orthodox. You country needs more of the kind and very where, as an antidote against a multi-colored army of farmers, and to pre-slavery among the people of the day.

We could we hail, with uncommon gratification, the fugitive like this, from the Congressional pulpit in Abington, Conn. from which we heard the gospel, steadily, for five years from the age of thirteen to eighteen, and have heard it occasionally, may show the congregation in which, from its first organization more than a century ago, our paternal ancestors worshipped, the parish in which they lived, and are buried. In the preacher, Mr. Smith, we think we recognize the historian of Old Abington, and he has studied his subject. Thank God, New England, her orthodox and her stern opposition to oppression and slavery are not yet dead.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. No. 30.

We hear much about Personal Liberty Bills, in the Free States. These Personal Liberty Bills are in bad odor with the slaveholder, and yet, if they are like a late one of Vermont, he ought to value them highly, as a Northern recognition of his right of property in slaves. The present law of that State relative to fugitive slaves is a noble one. It makes no servile law to slaveholders, and recognizes no authority of the Federal Government to enact statutes against the unquestionable rights of humanity. But her late law, preceding the present, deserved anything but commendation. It was a rebellious, scurrilous, vicious, cruel, superstitious thing. It subjected any person concerned in slave-catching, to a fine not exceeding a thousand dollars, or to imprisonment not over five years. Surely that must be a crime of some magnitude for which the offender should suffer such a penalty. But the very next section to that which imposed the penalty, provided that the people might take a British indulgence to commit the crime, freely. The indulgence, however, did not come from His Holiness, but from Federal officials, who, like the Pope, were exalted to power, and had power to dispense the penalty of sinning. Only let a Federal Judge, within the District of Vermont, or the marshal, or the deputy Marshal, say the word, and if a slave was confiding enough to try Vermont law, all the people might run with a shout, in pursuit. Such was the power of National Sovereignty to make a wicked act, duty.

It is true, the law of Vermont, if law it may be called secured to the fugitive slave a jury trial. But what was the question submitted to the jury? Was it whether he owed to the claimant service which he ought in honesty to pay? Nothing at all like it. What then? It was whether he had been the victim of such robbery that the robbery must not be interfered with? That was the question for the jury to decide, the whole of it. The law in effect said to the slave "We deliver up, none who are falsely claimed, but if it has really been your lot to be a slave, your aspirations for liberty can have no encouragement here." Such was the admitted liberty law of Vermont, a law which costerly will evoke among the wonders of an age of human civilization. As the slave goes back to a land of whips and chains from such a jury trial, how ought he to magnify its privilege? If the liberty laws of other States are like the former one of Vermont, the sooner they disappear to make room for others like Vermont's present law, the more creditable it will be for those States. How long will the Legislatures of Free States be duped by the silly fiction that the South was bought into the Union by an agreement on the part of the North to deliver up fugitive slaves? When will they learn that our national compact is a compact of justice and not of tyranny, that it recognizes a right of property in man and not in property? That was, when the North was not so foolish and when a slave could not be reclaimed, the old fugitive law of 1793, because the people knew that they had never bound themselves to an act involving their sense of right. The attempt and failure of President Washington to release a female slave, escaped to New Hampshire should be understood by every body. Mr. Sumner has informed us about it, by publishing a correspondence between him and Washington and Mr.

Whipple, collector of Port-au-Prince, Wash. got caught the collector's act in reclaiming the woman. It was understood, that he had applied to the Governor of New Hampshire. But it was all in vain, for it was too early for the people to tolerate rendition. It was not until he had sold the fugitive Act signed by himself, three years later.

All State legislation against the fugitive slave are already passed on the ground that that Act is unconstitutional and tyrannical, and is its first duty, and its only purpose. It is an important right of State Sovereignty, to administer protecting justice to all the people within its limits, whether natives or emigrants from other States. This right is not violated by a constitutional provision, which seeks to curtail the fraud of servants escaping from their rightful masters. Let it never be dreamed that Congress has higher authority for tyranny than a State Government has for right. There is no higher authority in the world than that of a State Government legislating for the protection of every innocent person within its bounds, nor any less to be respected than that of Congress, perverting an ancient Constitution to the support of the "sum of all villainies."

It is hardly questionable that the legislation of some of the Free States, by its implied admission of the right of property in man, has done something to promote the present misunderstanding between the North and the South. Had all Northern legislation proceeded on a denial of such a right, there would have been less cause to complain of Northern bad faith, in seeking to restrict the enjoyment of a right admitted to exist. At any rate, the admission by Free States that slaves are property under the Constitution, wrong them, and contributes to the hopelessness of their lot.

Communicated for the Principia THE REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.

Public attention has of late been called to an emigration movement among the people of color in the United States. We allude to that of the Haytian Government, whose general agent, James Rodpath, has opened a Bureau in Boston, appointed agents, and published a "Guide to Hayti," for distribution among the class invited. This work contains a description of the island, its soil, climate, products and minerals; its towns and villages, historical sketch of the Haytian nation, and the translation of its constitution and laws relating to emigrants, with a variety of useful information.

As this movement has fairly commenced, the second company of emigrants having sailed from Boston, on the 26th ult., it will be interesting to notice what are the offers and advantages tendered by the Haytian Government to the people of their own race in the States.

This movement differs in its inception from the efforts of the Colonization Society. Hayti is the only genuine Afro-American Nationality. A race of former slaves, self-empowered, who for sixty years have maintained unbroken, their nationality, inhabiting a beautiful and fertile island, contiguous to our own shores, any proposition made to the people of African descent among us, emanating from them, must meet with a greater respect and attention, than others avowedly designed to get rid of that element of our population, because thereby doing justly by them would be avowed.

The Republic of Hayti has under its present ruler, General Gouffard, evidenced an amount of energy and progressive spirit, which deserves recognition and support. The great want of Hayti is an industrial and stock agricultural population. The very life blood of the soldier, has infused into their national existence, that of the soldier, has infused them with an energetic industrial career. The island contains nearly 20,000,000 acres of the most fertile land in the world, capable, under proper culture, of producing all the tropical and temperate cereals, fruits, and vegetables. Hayti exports 150,000 lbs of coffee annually, and could easily place in the market a million bales of cotton. For the last decade it is unequalled. A small experiment, shows that the Sea Island plant, becomes perennial, grows and spreads to the size of a small tree, produces two crops a year, averaging 500 lbs per crop, this returning per acre about 60 lbs of clean cotton, which has been sold in the New York market at 14 cts per pound. At the close of this last year, 2,250,000 of the immense plains of Hayti,

then cultivated for sugar, gave an average of 20 per cent of the cane, or about 300,000 lbs of raw sugar per acre in the island. It is for the purpose of restoring the land to its former material prosperity as well as to aid their oppressed brethren here, that the emigration movement has been inaugurated.

The Haytian Government offers to each person of African or Indian descent who may wish to emigrate, if the head of a family, a free homestead of five acres, or over fifteen acres of fertile land, or if a single man, two acres, or over six acres, a free passage to Hayti, eight days' provisions, and, after landing, or until the emigrants are permitted, it will provide work for them who cannot subsist for themselves, will give land for schools and churches, and guarantee citizenship after one year's residence, and perfect religious freedom.

There is much to interest our colored people in this movement. The Guide to Hayti, and any other information, may be obtained of James Rodpath, General Agent, Haytian Bureau of emigration, Boston, Mass.

The two companies that have already sailed, were mainly composed of free people of color, driven from South Carolina. They have organized themselves into cotton growing associations, and intend to carry their energies in that direction.

The first company arrived at Port-au-Prince on the 16th of January, and are now located at St. Marks, about 40 miles from the Capital. These parties take with them religious and moral habits, and will establish churches and schools. The progress of the movement will be watched with interest.

For the Principia. LETTER FROM WISCONSIN.

The following Letter speaks for itself. It indicates the position which loyalty to Christ requires at the present time, of every true Church in the Nation, in presence of such an overwhelming crime, as Slaveholding, and such a prevalent vice as Intemperance.

WHITE CREEK, ADAMS CO. WIS., Feb. 13th 1861
To the Secretary of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, Jewett City, Conn.

Dear Brother in Christ, I have this moment read the circular of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, in the American Baptist, a paper printed at New York, the Organ of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, and hasten to let you know that I am heartily glad to recit. May the Great Head of the Church abundantly bless the enterprise. This Church was organized here in Aug. 1859 thoroughly radical. I give you a quotation from the declaration of faith.

"We believe that it is the imperative duty of the church as a body and of each individual member composing the body, to maintain a distinct and thorough separation in their communion and fellowship with slaveholders, and their communion and fellowship with all who are in communion with slaveholders, and from all who are in communion with slaveholders."

I will also pen the clause in our church covenant which corresponds. "That we will not receive any into church fellowship or communion who use intoxicating liquors as a beverage, or buy or hold human beings as property, or unite with secret societies, or who apologize for any of these unchristianful works of darkness."

Truly and Affectionately yours, for no slavery
B. B. THOMPSON,
Minister of the Gospel.

LETTER FROM LORD BROMHAM

BROMHAM, November 21.
SIR—I feel honored by the invitation to attend the Boston Convention, and to give my opinion upon the question, "How can American Slavery be Abolished?" I consider the application is made to me, as conceiving me to represent the anti-slavery body in this country, and I believe I speak for the majority as well as for my own in expressing the difference of opinion with you, upon the merits of those who promoted the Harper's Ferry expedition, and for the fate of those who suffered for their conduct in it. No one will doubt my earnest desire to see slavery extinguished, but I do not deem me only as gratified by force means—a strict regard for the rights of property or what the law declares to be property and a constant impudence in the shedding of blood. As you have considered a martyr, unless he is a martyr, it is witless to truth; and it does not bear this testimony which seeks a lawful object by illegal means. Any other course taken for the abolition of slavery can only do the consummation with its fearful work, leaving the people to see that slavery exists, and insurrection perhaps less harmful to the master than the slave. When the British emancipation was finally carried it was accomplished by steps, and five years elapsed between the commencement of the measure in 1830, and its completion in 1838.

The declaration of the law which pronounced a slave free as such by the British government, (originally secured

to the English courts under Lord Mansfield, but really made by the judges in Scotland,) may seem to be inconsistent with the principle now laid down. But I am bound to express my doubts if such a decision would have been made had James touched upon the coasts of this country. It is certain that the judges did not intend to declare that all property in slaves should instantly cease, and yet such would have been the inevitable effect of their judgment, in the case supposed, which somewhat resembles that of America.

In the elevation of your own President, all friends of America, of its confederated union, of the instant extinction of slavery, of peace to the world, of the other immediate extinction of the execrable slave trade—all friends of the human race should joyfully rejoice. They will let us hope, and in happy powerful ally, as his country may expect to find an ally consistent, and an honest ruler.

I have the honor to be your faithful servant,

JAMES REDPATH, Esq., Boston, U. S.

REPLY.

To HENRY, LORE, BANGHAM.

My Lord—I have received your reply to my question—

How can America as Slavery be Abolished?

I take exceptions to its erroneous ethical teachings, and appeal from Bingham, the English Lord, to Henry Brougham, the tribune of the English people, to sustain me. I appeal from the *Non-Resistant*, whose letter is now quoted, with eager approval, by every pro-slavery journal of our cities, to the popular orator whose words, radiant with the light of Heaven, have so often confounded the most cunning sophistries of the slave oppressor. I appeal from the Lord who so recently has said, "No one can doubt my earnest desire to see slavery extinguished, but that desire can only be gratified by lawful means—a strict regard to the rights of property, or what the law calls property, and a constant repugnance to the shedding of blood." I appeal to the noble young Englishman, of lowly birth, who thrilled two continents with three eloquent words:—

"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the rights; I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. . . . In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim. There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same law throughout the world, the same law since time began as before the daring genies of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to our world the sources of power, wealth and knowledge; the law of God, the law of nature, the law of the Creator, the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, the most miserable of our race, the most degraded, the most degraded, and abhorred blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man."

When you have pronounced your judgment, my Lord, on this point, I may venture to suggest a few expressions, not above noted, by equally excellent authority.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant, JAMES REDPATH.

DIALING BETWEEN TWO PRINCIPLES.

Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, made an eloquent speech in the Senate, Feb. 21, in which he said many admirable things against slavery, and nobly vindicated the people of color. But after all, he almost destroyed its effect by fatal concessions. Look at the following:

"We are to be quenching freedom's fire in his age in Republican America, may level their terrors and gibes at Massachusetts, but we will continue to have unflinching faith in the conviction that God's slavery is a crime against humanity. She opens God's Holy Word, and the imperative injunctions of inspiration break every yoke—she has heavy burden—let the oppressor—let the flag—upon her banner. She gazes into the graves of perished nations—sees that Slavery poisoned their national life, hastened their decay, decline, fall. She reads in the brilliant pages of Bampton's history the slavery, the devastation of Italy upon the barbarians. The large Roman plantations filled by slaves labor were their ruin. Slavery had effected the decline of the Roman people, and had wasted the land, before a Scythian or a Scandinavian had crossed the Alps."

A little further on in the same address comes the following:

"But she is not unacquainted with her constitutional duties, to her obligations to the Union, and to her own States. I appeal to the people of the United States, and to the people of this Union, that she has not been deceived by the insinuations of her enemies, and she does not mean to shrink from the performance of her obligations as a member of this confederated or confederated States. She has sacred march, she does not seek, she cannot by her own power, to break the bonds of the Federal Government upon the Constitutional rights of her sister States. Jealous of her own rights, she will respect the rights of others. Controlling the power to control her own domestic policy, she freely accedes, that power shall extend to the States. Cancelling the rights of the States, she will not own. Lead to the Union she demands, leading to her own. And so her constitutional duties, and her own duty, the imperative injunctions of inspiration, to break every yoke."

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1861

THE GREAT CHANGE.

The fourth of March has come and gone. James Buchanan has moved out of the great white house. Abraham Lincoln has moved in. The Democratic party has gone out of power. The Republican party has come into power.

The first great object of the on-coming President and his Administration, was to protect slave "property." The first distinct announcement of his policy, by the incoming President, was that the same species of "property" shall be protected as heretofore. Of no other property, of no other material, or otherwise, of any section of the country, does he utter a syllable, unless it be to inquire timidly, "whether it might not be well, at the same time, to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause of the Constitution which guarantees that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"—including the privilege of being lynched for speaking the truth, or for not wearing a padlock on their lips.

The on-coming President was zealously intent on the business of catching runaway negroes. The incoming President is careful to secure the christian and civilized world, that the sublime function of the Government is not confined to exercise, as usual. He thinks—and we think with him—that "if the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of little consequence to him or others, by which authority, (State or National), it is done." To which it might have been added that it is of little consequence to the slave or others, whether the hunting-pack of lipped bloodhounds, be cancelled and headed by James Buchanan, or by Abraham Lincoln. Or this only, that the exorcism of good men, the world over, will have to be transferred from the former to the latter, he himself, with his eyes open, consenting.

The on-coming President, up to the hour when the incoming President was elected, has always held, as did all his predecessors, when in power, that the Federal Government is a government proper, and not a mere confederacy of States, at liberty to secede or nullify whenever they pleased. The incoming President, like all other Presidents in office, is of the same mind. In this, we think him altogether correct.

The on-coming President held that the Federal Government must protect slavery in the Territories. The incoming President raises the question, "Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories?" And he returns for answer, "The Constitution does not expressly say." And so he leaves it to be inferred that it is a doubtful question, in his mind. He is not quite certain as to his duty on that subject. As to the question, whether Congress may not prohibit slavery in the Territories—he ignores it altogether, making no mention of it, as though it were a by-gone controversy, as Mr. Seward said, in his speech of January 30th, in the Senate.

The on-coming President always acted upon the principle that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held for service. The incoming President adds to his avowal of the same principle, that he has no objection to an amendment of the Constitution making it express and irrevocable beyond the power of the States to repeal or to amend it back again.

And he thinks it very strange, that anybody should "distinguish" with Mr. Buchanan, as he did at the white house, and having him move into it. We think, however, and he thinks it equally strange, but not nearly enough political wisdom and sagacity, should have fitted a finger to correct Mr. Buchanan and put in Mr. Lincoln, when all this has been discussed, thrashed, tramped, and might have been avoided by the solution of another tenant for white house.

THE "PAVILION" CONGRESS.

I congratulate the Free State men on the first opening of the session, in December, of the new Senate and House to renew and infuse the revolutionary principles of Washington (the century) they must have been long coming down.

intended object, that they have done. The Southern members, by their insolvency, and most of the Northern members, by their servility, have helped to make abolitionists in the North, and a inflame and encourage rebellion in the South.

The incoming President has done nothing toward appeasing the slaveholders, but much to cause and necessitate anti-slavery activity. That action has concentrated on two points—the very points, in all others, most directly calculated to operate, powerfully, upon the entire Northern mind.

First, the Resolution adopted, early in the session, commending to the Free States, the repeal of Personal Liberty bills, giving full swing to the odious Fugitive slave bill, enough, of itself, to raise the stones of the streets to remonstrate.—Second, the startling proposal to amend the Constitution, so as to perpetuate slavery by intimidation, denying the power of the people to undo the mischief.

—Two such fire brands of agitation were never thrown in to the community, before. If the North were an iceberg, two such red hot bolts, were sufficient, one would think, to inflame, or dissolve it. If it be otherwise—if the Northern people can stand this, the spirit of liberty is lower among them, than among the slaves! They are less capable than the fugitives, of maintaining their freedom!

THE NORTHERN TRAITORS AND THE SOUTHERN

The Southern traitors have rebelled against the Union for the sake of slavery—the Northern have rebelled against liberty for the sake of the Union—and both for political preferment, the spoils of office, the prerogatives of power through the perpetuity of slavery.

The Southern traitors rebel against the Federal Government—the Northern against the Sovereignty and the Liberties of the People.

The Southern traitors, having lost the election, and the Capitol, trample the Constitution under foot. The Northern traitors, having won the election and the Capitol, are attempting to subvert the Constitution by the action of Congress and the State Legislatures, without even asking leave of the people, and so to subvert it, as to proclaim it beyond the power of the people to recover it into their hands again.

The Southern traitors expected to carry their measures by open violence, the Northern by craftiness and deception.

The Southern traitors stole the public funds, the public arms, the fortifications of public material defence. The Northern traitors attempt to steal the People's right to amend their own Constitution—to take away from them "in perpetuity" the Constitutional franchises of freedom!

The Southern traitors are out of power, at a distance from us, and cannot harm us. The Northern traitors are in power, in our very midst, at the Capitol, with the Government patronage, the Army, the Navy, the Treasury, and, as they think, the State Legislatures at their bidding.

Ho! Freemen, to the rescue! Now—NOW—NOW—be slaves, with your posterity, forever! Speak out, thunder tones. And so speak that the traitors shall be abashed, and confounded before you.

THE PETER FORGED FOR US.

Can it be put on, and rejected?

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

The following is the proposed amendment to the Constitution, as reported by Mr. Corwin.

"That the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds both houses concurring, be and they are authorized, to propose to the Legislatures of the several States, as an amendment to the said Constitution, that article, which reads, 'No State shall enter into any compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or with the United States, without the consent of the Senate and the House of Representatives, a majority of two-thirds of each house, shall be void, and no State shall be bound by any compact, or agreement, or treaty, or alliance, or confederation, entered into by the United States, without the consent of the Senate and the House of Representatives, a majority of two-thirds of each house, shall be void, and no State shall be bound by any compact, or agreement, or treaty, or alliance, or confederation, entered into by the United States, without the consent of the Senate and the House of Representatives, a majority of 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